

BUILT thing UNITY



A special issue of CARF, in which campaigning groups
and activists outline their priorities for 1995

Interview with A. Sivanandan • Euro-league of death

Hilary Arnott: 1944-1994

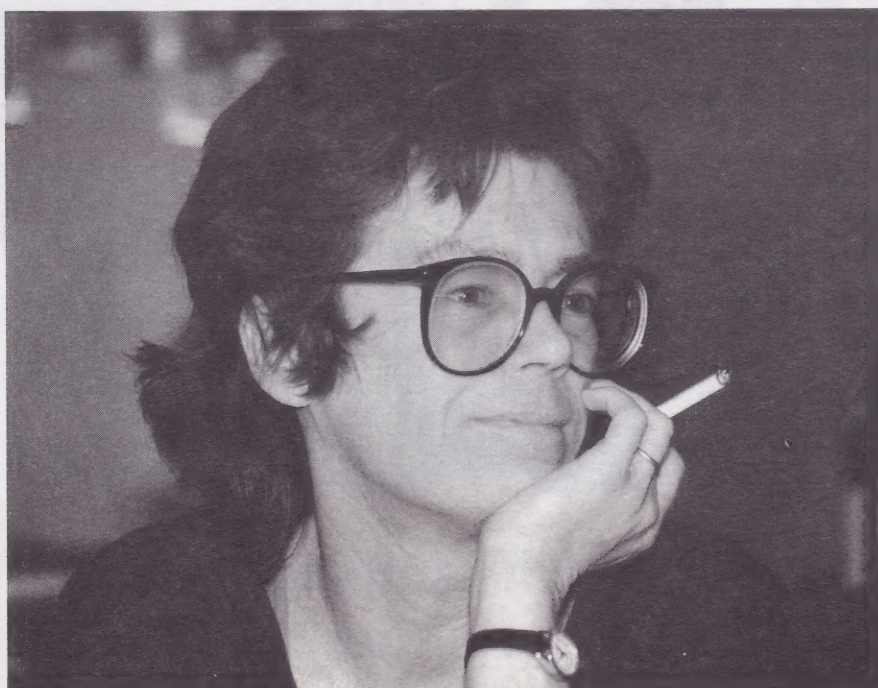
CARF is one of the few publications on the Left that does not set out a list of its editorial team and contributors in each issue. At a time when socialist principles are often derided, CARF is proud of the collective way in which it works. As such, the many individuals who help bring out CARF receive no recognition for their work. And of all these individuals, Hilary Arnott, who died on 23 December, was one of the most unstinting of her time and energy and one of the most selfless.

Hilary was one of the early editors of the CARF newspaper in 1977. Her political instinct and incisive intelligence were crucial in shaping the paper's direction. Crucial too was the way she gave of her considerable skills in editing, design and lay-out, when there was enthusiasm but little knowledge of production on the paper. And when CARF went solo again in 1991, it fell to Hilary to teach the newer members of the collective the skills and discipline needed to bring out a magazine.

In doing this, Hilary insisted that CARF met professional standards. She was determined that CARF, though brought out on a shoe-string budget, should look good and that being on the Left should never be an excuse for sloppiness of thought or writing. Hilary was patient with us all when we were careless and slap-dash, but she never talked down to us, or brought a hierarchy into the collective because of her superior expertise.

In her 26 years as an activist, Hilary worked at the Institute of Race Relations, the Child Poverty Action Group, Latin American Newsletters and the Legal Action Group while, in her 'spare time', she served numerous movements and campaigns, from the ANC to the Bridgewater Four.

We have missed Hilary terribly over the past year. As she battled against cancer, we struggled to keep the magazine going without her special gifts as teacher, friend and 'Big Sister' to the collective. Hilary was 50 when she died, but she was still just as committed to the anti-racist cause, doing her bit week in, week out, even when there was precious little in the movement to inspire us. More Hilary Arnotts are needed in the anti-racist movement.



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EDITORIAL

BUILDING UNITY

BUILDING UNITY is a special issue of CARF, in which campaigning groups and activists outline their priorities for 1995.

INTERVIEW

CARF spoke to A. Sivanandan, editor of *Race & Class*

CARF: *You have taken part in and written about Black political struggles in Britain for over 25 years. Do you believe that there still is a Black politics?*

SIVANANDAN: Not any more. There is no Black politics today in the sense of Black *qua* Black. There is no Black struggle in the sense of anti-racist plus anti-imperialist, in the sense of Black=Third World. There are Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets fighting the BNP, African-Caribbeans in Chapeltown fighting the police, etc. There are no Black and Asian (as they term it) struggles, there are only ethnic struggles. The only exception where these ethnicities can and do come together is in the fight against the fascists. Even the anti-racist struggle is anti a particular racism, ie, a racism against a particular community, an attack on a particular community and sometimes, a particular ethnic group.

We must organise not for culture but against racism, against fascism, against the erosion of civil liberties, against injustice and inequality – against racism *qua* racism instead of particularising the racisms. We are not organising for the Bangladeshis (in the East End of London) but against racism. That is what a national organisation like ARA should have done and failed to do.

You seem to imply that 'Black' is not even a principle to organise around?

I do not accept that Black is not an organising principle, though that may be all that it is today: an organising principle for unity, against racism, against

LET'S TAKE STOCK. When CARF was relaunched in 1991, it was to forge again the sort of unity that obtained in the anti-racist and anti-fascist movements in the '70s and '80s – and gave rise to what Sivanandan described as 'communities of resistance'.

Why, then, haven't the grassroots campaigns that CARF has reported on month after month, developed into a national movement against racism? Why haven't the spontaneous outbursts of local black anger and protest grown into sustained community activity? The fact that, over the last two years, anti-racists have been bogged down in the internal disputes of national organisations hasn't helped. But there are other reasons

too. Fifteen years of Tory rule have helped to break down the resistance in black and working class communities, promoted ethnic divisions, given a fillip to identity politics and engineered a retreat into all sorts of fundamentalisms.

CARF talked to Sivanandan about these problems, with a view to launching a debate on how we can go beyond our own personal and sectional politics to a unifying political culture that can once again fire the anti-racist movement. And it is for that same reason that we have asked you, the campaigners for such a politics, to identify your priorities and concerns for 1995 in this special issue of CARF.

Fighting our fundamentalisms

imperialism. But of course there is no longer a Black struggle in Britain which embraces all the non-white communities. There is not even Black on the one hand and Asian on the other.

But they have a common problem in racism. Racism principally affects non-white communities; the way to fight racism is for the groups affected by it to come together to fight it. They can come down their different ethnic, religious, sexual paths but at the point of rendezvous their politics becomes Black. Thus, anti-racism becomes equated with Black politics and in the process, Black politics becomes imbued with the principle that Blacks shall never be racists.

Black is an organising principle, anti-racism is a programme. But it's the programme that establishes the principle and, in turn, informs the programme. Like the Left is an organising principle levelled at the Right, Left is not a programme. The programme is to overthrow racism, and those affected by it are non-whites, and they do so by uniting. At that point, Black becomes a political colour – like Red.

So do you mean you would not speak of the Black Experience or the Black Community now?

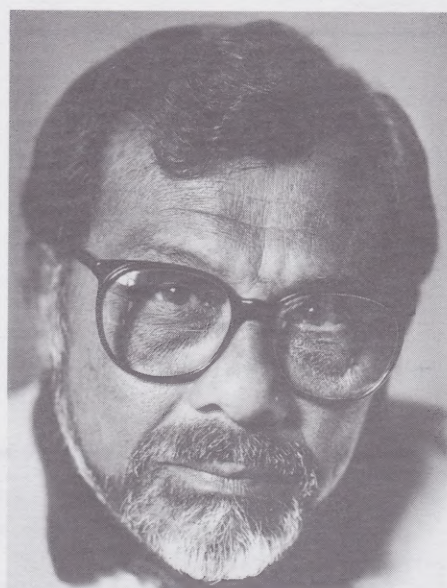
No, I wouldn't. There was a Black community in the 1960s and '70s in the political

sense – in the sense of an anti-racist bloc. But, in the last two decades, multi-culturalism and, subsequently, ethnicism have fragmented Black politics, have negated Black political culture. And, what you have today is cultural politics, ethnic politics, identity politics. Hence, there is not only no Black *qua* Black experience but not even an Asian *qua* Asian or African-Caribbean *qua* African-Caribbean experience that we can speak of.

Well why, then, do you appear to be so critical of the way that Black-made TV programmes criticise their own communities? You have come out against 'washing our dirty linen in public'.

You are extrapolating my views from another time. It was necessary, twenty or thirty years ago, when racism was undifferentiating of Asian and African-Caribbean peoples, when most 'immigrants' were still working class, when, therefore, we had a common fight against state racism and had to come together to build unity to defend our families against bussing or ESN schooling, immigration laws, or police harassment and Paki-bashing, then it was necessary to deal with our internal differences internally.

But now we are far more diffuse, differentiated, sophisticated. Our communities have broken up. (Communities



are not static, nor are they imagined. They break up and re-form in different configurations at different times.) And we have got our own middle classes: MPs, media moguls, bureaucrats, our own people in positions of power. The more differentiated we become, the more fissures appear in our communities. And we need to examine these.

I am not against washing our dirty linen in public. I am against the powder that is used. We must not just borrow from the white 'canon', we must create a black one. Self-criticism – of an individual, class, group – is valid and necessary. But when it is for public consumption, then we need to take into account who will use it against us and, thereby, deepen further the fault-lines that we were seeking to erase. We want to examine our faults and foibles not expose them. Not washing one's dirty linen is to remain dirty. But if it is to

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I am against the powder that is used.**

be washed in public, then the public must be given to understand the conditions under which that linen has got dirty.

In other words, the way we criticise the reactionary or 'backward' aspects in our communities, whether it is arranged marriages, gun-culture or whatever, should be in terms of both our particular backgrounds and our particular histories in this country, so that we can diagnose the problem correctly and so resolve it. To use the white canon, on the other hand, standards, that is, taken from white society which, to some extent, have

I don't hold freedom of speech as an absolute. There are other freedoms that come before... like the freedom to life.

conditioned our problems in the first place, is not only to arrive at an incorrect diagnosis, and so distort the problem, but also to lend ourselves once again to racial stereotyping. In sum, we have got to develop our own criteria of criticism for our own communities.

And the first thing that occurs to me is that, although we have become sophisticated in some ways, we are still not sophisticated enough to develop our

own canon of criticism – a black canon if you like – certainly an anti-racist canon. Which also applies to the way we present our programmes, the format they take.

And the things we examine critically in our communities should be substantial things, not trivia, not the stuff of television: sensational, voyeuristic, with an eye to ratings, such as programmes on Black rent boys, the hiring of thugs to find runaway girls in the Asian community, Indian transsexuals and the series on Black sex lives, *Doing it with you is taboo*.

So what would you like to see examined?

One of the subjects which needs to be looked at seriously and responsibly, and which only a 'Black canon' can do with sensitivity and understanding, is the growing incidence of inter-ethnic violence. Why is this happening now? What are the causes? What is the social context? How is it that the younger generation have so little understanding of the racism that their parents have suffered that they could replay it themselves? Have they no knowledge of their own history in this country – or of their slave and/or colonial past? Why do they not know that racism runs against the grain of our histories? And how do we combat it? So that the oppressed themselves do not become oppressors. Old 'immigrants' do not attack new 'immigrants', African-Caribbeans do not attack Asians, Asians do not attack Somalis. In examining the

¶ If 1994 was the year of self organisation, then 1995 must be the year of action.

Increased harassment by the Police using the Criminal Justice Act will be our greatest challenge. All community organisations, groups and individuals must be alert to its use/misuse and widely publicise its effects.

For many, 1994 was the year of Black disorganisation because of the many serious divisions which developed in the main organisations. From our perspective this is part of an inescapable process. As new layers of our community enter struggle, their recent illusions shattered by racism, leaders who have been Play-fighting the enemy will be pushed aside or fall out over who is to blame for their inaction. This is positive, not negative!

In any case, most of the serious battles against racism have been spearheaded by those who have been directly at the sharp end of racism. Active support of such groups and individuals will enrich our struggle in 1995. ♪

PANTHER UK

inter-racial troubles within our communities, in other words, we should also point to the fact that we who have had the experience of racism should not ourselves be racist.

But doesn't it follow then that there should be no oppression meted out by the oppressed, be it racism, sexism, homophobia or whatever?

Absolutely. I have said before that the experience of oppression in anything – 'race', gender, sexuality – should sensitise us, open us out, to the oppressions of others. To have the experience and miss the meaning is a mortal sin.

Do I understand you to say then that you are opposed to groups like Hizb ut-Tahrir which are openly homophobic, anti-Semitic and anti-Hindu?

Yes. Their perception of themselves as an oppressed people or religion does not justify their oppression of others in turn, any more, say, than the oppression of gays and lesbians by Blacks or of new 'immigrants' by old.

What about their right to freedom of speech, then?

I don't hold freedom of speech as an absolute. There are other freedoms that come before freedom of speech, like the freedom to life. And if the freedom of

¶ 'Back to Basics' is NMP's motto for 1995. Building grassroots resistance, promoting community associations, working within the white working class are all priorities.

We will look at new ways to challenge the police. We have had ten years of police PR and the perfection of the language of race awareness. The police have become immune to criticism and to campaigning tactics. This has also been the case in the fight against racist attacks. The anti-racist movement is failing to tackle the structural problems that allow fascism to grow. NMP is prioritising building solid alternatives to the BNP, with the community at the root of our struggle. ♪

NEWHAM MONITORING PROJECT

¶ Following the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act, now there is more need than ever before for mass public campaigns to stop these arbitrary deportations simply because people are black. The recent victories of people like Naheed Ejaz, the Rahman family and Dexter Sewell should give us great encouragement.

Racist and sexist laws are an integral part of the oppression that black people are fighting. Therefore, it is just as important to support anti-deportation campaigns as it is to try to close down the BNP HQ.

All the people who have campaigned publicly against their deportation with WMADC have won. It can take one year or four years – you never know – and that is one of the weapons of the state, but we have to use it to our advantage . to build the biggest possible campaign. ♪

WEST MIDLANDS ANTI-DEPORTATION CAMPAIGN



Students should not allow their problems to be taken out of their hands. That is a freedom they should never surrender.

speech of one lot consists of threatening the life, life-style, beliefs of another lot, then I am afraid I will come out against such freedom of speech.

Put it another way. Anybody who uses the freedom of speech to deny others their basic freedoms is not a democrat but a totalitarian. Freedom of speech in such hands is no longer a principle but a tactic, and when it is de-based to that level, it is no longer freedom of speech as we know it. And the failure to distinguish between the two is the mistake that the liberals make.

Do we then fight fundamentalism in the same way as we fight the fascists?

No. Firstly fundamentalism is a blanket word, a portmanteau word. There are all sorts of fundamentalisms, some worse than others, some with little organisation and power, some with whole states backing them. I would say Zionism is a fundamentalism. There is Christian fundamentalism which has been instrumental in the Republican landslide in the States.

Not all fundamentalisms are equally powerful. So the way we fight them

would be different. Different strokes for different tyrannies.

Secondly, it is important to recognise the social process through which religion passes before it becomes fundamentalist, from belief to dogma – from being the ‘sigh of the oppressed’ to becoming the ‘opiate of the masses’. Fascism, on the other hand, is a finished process, a completed, self-contained ideology, fundamentalist in its inception and in its conception. And the fight against it is clear-cut and uncompromising, because fascism is against all liberties, against democracy per se.

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Of course, religious fundamentalism, especially when it is backed by state power, can become fascist. But there is still a point of time before that – and a space – during which and within which it can be challenged. Fascism allows no such opportunity. It has got to be fought from the word go.

‘Almost two-and-a-half times more refugees and migrants are detained in the UK than 18 months ago when the Asylum Act became law. We believe there is a need for:

- Regular demonstrations at Campsfield, Harmondsworth, Haslar, Rochester, Brixton, etc
- Building detainee support groups and closure campaigns at all detention centres and prisons
- National days of action outside centres and prisons
- Resolutions to union and Labour party conferences calling for an end to detentions of migrants and asylum-seekers
- Contacting European groups to exchange information and build European-wide campaigning.’

CAMPAIGN TO CLOSE CAMPSFIELD

**BUILD
ing
UNITY**

‘The most important issue for anti-racists is that we are unflagging in our efforts to identify racism in all its forms. We are right to put the spotlight on the openly fascist movement, which has sought to exploit disenchantment with the Labour party in ‘forgotten’ urban areas. Fascists should be stopped wherever they are, and there should be no granting of electoral or media respectability to them.

At the same time we should not neglect identifying racism in its more insidious forms, such as in employment, business, the institutions, the media. I can think of the reporting of racist attacks and the coverage of the ‘developing’ world as two areas of continuing subtle racism.

Thanks to organisations like CARF, there *has* been progress, reminding us, of course, of how much there is to do and to gain.’

JOHN PILGER, JOURNALIST

‘Racial violence in east London has grown in ferocity and frequency. What we in Tower Hamlets want to see in 1995 is a firmer response to that violence. The agenda of the community who bear the brunt of racist attacks has to become the national agenda.

The TUC march was important in this respect. Despite many divisions, we have tried to carry the working unity forged in the process of organising that demonstration forward and we hope that the National Assembly Against Racism will continue this. Unity can’t be based on rhetoric, but must be built around key principles. That is why the National Assembly has produced an anti-racist charter for discussion on how best we can achieve consensus and go forward.’

KUMAR MURSHID,

TOWER HAMLETS ANTI-RACIST COMMITTEE

The reason I am asking the question is that at the moment in student unions, students don't know whether to support the Hizb ut-Tahrir because they are part of an oppressed minority or to 'no platform' them for their extremist views.

I think the answer is quite straightforward. You fight oppression wherever it occurs and whatever shape it takes. In other words, you fight for a principle and not for a particular organisation. Equally, you do not stand up for your group if it does not uphold the principles you believe in. In the particular case you refer to, I would support Hizb ut-Tahrir when they are oppressed in their religion or 'race', and oppose them when they use their religious or minority credentials to oppress others.

But to get away from campus politics, the liberal dilemma would equally apply to the case of Algerian asylum-seekers who are being held in Pentonville prison, ostensibly because they are Islamic fundamentalists. The question, then, is do we support the right of asylum for those who are fleeing persecution or do we, in opposing FIS fundamentalism, oppose their right to asylum too?

And the answer, I would think, is that we support the principle that those who are fleeing political persecution have the right to asylum. (We should not misplace ourselves in the Algerian struggle.) But, if and when they are given the right to stay here and begin to propagate their extreme and/or undemocratic views, then we have got to fight them on that basis.

But the trouble today – and this comes out very clearly on the campuses – is that politics is defined not on the basis of principle but on the basis of identity. Students are no longer debating an issue but taking up positions based on who they are. Are you a Jew, a Muslim, a gay, a woman, a Black? It is intransigent and cannot be shifted. In other words, your loyalty is to your identity and not to a cause. Your cause is yourself.

We have to get beyond identity politics. We must travel from the issue to ourselves. A student, by definition, is someone who studies something, is put on inquiry, is curious, wants to look at all sides of a question before making up her or his mind. But if that student is fixed in her or his subjectivity, then it is impossible to examine issues objectively.

Your loyalty is already defined by who you are and, therefore, the side you take is already defined, and there is no point in discussing other views on the subject. The debate is foreclosed before it has begun. (That is the tyranny of identity politics.)

And it affords no resolution. The resolution of the problem is then handed over to the authorities – campus and/or state – and leads to blanket bans and therefore to a larger tyranny. Students should not allow their problems to be taken out of their hands. That is a freedom they should never surrender. Equally, they should not themselves have recourse to bans. Rather, they should fight out their positions in terms of democratic principles and not in terms of their primordial affiliations.

But why are religious movements growing so fast amongst students in the West? What exactly motivated Sayed Sheikh, a student at the London School of Economics who went to fight in Bosnia and was recently arrested in India, allegedly for taking part in the Kashmiri Liberation Front's kidnapping of western tourists.

The reason is partly because there are no concerted struggles today, either within countries or internationally, against poverty and exploitation – against capitalism and imperialism. There are no great working-class movements, no Third World revolutions. It is also because there is no cohering ideology that transcends national boundaries like socialism or communism. And so the struggles against immiseration, against exploitation, against imperialism grow up around religions and take the character of millenarian movements. And in the interstices of these movements also arise their distortions: fundamentalism.

Sayed probably could not bear the injustice that was meted out to his people, or the injustices in the world at large, and turned to his religion for solace. And came to the conclusion that Muslims *qua* Muslims were being persecuted all over the globe, from Bosnia to India, and decided to end up fighting for a Muslim Kashmir. Twenty or 30 years ago he would probably have joined the Black People's Alliance or the International Socialists; 60 years ago he would have joined the international brigade and fought fascism in Spain. ■

‘1995 will be a crucial year for inner city education and for creative and participatory responses to growing problems of racism. Resolutions and actions need to be around:

- Schools tackling, without ambiguity, the racist ideas and thuggery of neo-fascist groups like the BNP
- Campaigning against the continuing narrowness of the ‘National Curriculum’ and leading struggles against it – eg, to get bilingualism accredited as the equivalent of a full ‘A’ level for university entry
- Determination to find alternatives to the exclusion from school of students, by schools working much more closely with communities
- Schools to be organised to act as unifying centres and bulwarks against growing problems of communalism in inner cities, being stoked up by economic attacks by central and local government, racist ideas and the growing drug trade.’

CHRIS SEARLE, HEAD TEACHER

‘The media issue for anti-racists is misrepresentation. We need to wage the same old campaigns, but better. Pay attention to ‘entertainment’ TV no less than to news and current affairs. Network our complaints and compliments. Target the broadcasters. Attack the intellectually fashionable, deconstructed impassivity of the chattering ‘left’.’

COLIN PRESCOD, FILM-MAKER

‘Music in itself won't change anything but it can provoke discussion and that's the first step.

We see ‘the way ahead’ as getting thoroughly clued up. Anti-racist sentiment alone is not enough. We need to know about history, underlying trends and current developments and how to convey this information, putting it also in a wider (political) context so that people know how it affects them. These are vital weapons because there are articulate people only too ready to walk over us.

So: ‘The Bible in the right hand and the gun in the left’? We intend to turn that on its head – a copy of *Black People in the British Empire* in the right hand and a rounders bat in the left (they're less cumbersome and fit nicely under a jacket).’

ANIRUDDHA DAS,
COMMUNITY MUSIC EDUCATION PROJECT/
ASIAN DUB FOUNDATION

**We who have had the experience of racism
should not ourselves be racist.**

1994 Euro-league of death

CARF's annual audit of deaths in Europe due in some way to racism reveals that more immigrants and asylum-seekers were killed by the police in 1994 than by members of the far Right. Below we examine the reasons why.

POLICE

The number of immigrants or asylum-seekers dying as a result of police brutality or neglect is over twice as high as in 1993. This is not a coincidence, but reflects the fact that racism has travelled from the far-Right fringe to the very centre of European policy-making, trickling down to vital institutions like the police and immigration services.

From controls to repatriation

In the 18 cases we document in this category, though the reasons for the deaths vary, one overall theme unites them. 1994 was the year when the right to asylum effectively came to an end, and European states have brought in measures to curtail all immigration and to close down finally the 'guestworker' system, so vital to the growth of post-war Europe. It was therefore the year when perfectly legal migrants and refugees were rendered 'illegal'.

Police and immigration services have been given the task of administering a system of mass repatriation and deportation, necessitating constant identity checks. Germany is at the forefront of this process, but is not alone. Over 70 per cent of Swiss voters, who for years have enjoyed a comfortable standard of living based on a guestworker system of migrant labour, recently approved a new 'Measures of Constraint' law, giving police sweeping new powers to jail 'illegal' workers and asylum-seekers for up to one year.

The situation in France, where the full blast of the deportation system is being felt by the long-established north African community, is, if anything, even worse. For hard-line interior minister Charles Pasqua, who came to office promising 'zero immigration' and a 'crusade against fundamentalism', has brought in a series of measures that render French-born Arab youth liable to deportation.

'Sus' policing

All this needs a rationale, found in the so-called criminality and proclivity to terrorism of asylum-seekers and immigrants. Throughout Europe there has been widespread media debate about the

criminality of 'foreigners'. This encourages a form of 'sus' policing. The police see in every foreigner a potential 'illegal', a 'dangerous criminal' or a 'deranged terrorist', and render justice accordingly, as seen in the case of Halim Denir, a 16-year-old Turkish Kurd, shot in the back by German police in Hanover while putting up posters for the PKK. The police say it was an accidental shooting which happened when the officer responsible stumbled over his gun. But eye-witnesses speak of the officer deliberately aiming his gun at the youth.

In other cases, an identifiable pattern emerges. Either a youth is apprehended carrying out a petty crime, and is shot dead (and in all the cases we document here the victim was unarmed), or patrolling policemen decide there is something fishy about the driver of a passing vehicle and enters into hot pursuit. In the case of Fauozi Benrais, for instance, a French police patrol falsely claimed that he was driving a stolen motorbike dangerously and lost control. The motorbike and police car involved in the chase were removed from the scene before anyone could see them and Fauozi's elder brother was prevented from seeing his body. According to Fauozi's passenger, Virginie Vantrie, 'It was a chase to the death. They cut us out. The bike was forced into the wall.'

Interrogation and identity checks

Suspicious deaths take place after immigrants are taken to the police station for



Deaths in western Europe: 1994

Far-Right murders (known/believed)	13
Racist murders	19
Death by police brutality or neglect	21
Suicide of asylum prisoners	7
Total:	60

interrogation following an identity check. Italian police claim that Moroccan immigrant Hachem Recragui committed suicide by throwing himself from the sixth-floor window of an Italian police HQ.

Recragui's papers were in order, but after an identity check he was taken to the HQ with a friend, whose papers were not in order and who was in possession of a small amount of cannabis. Yet, according to the police, it was Recragui who had a sudden fit and jumped out of a window. The coroner called his death suicide and refused a post-mortem.

Similarly, scant information was released as to how and why 32-year-old Malian Oussi Touré died of a heart attack in the offices of the security branch of Paris police after he was interrogated and told that he was to be immediately expelled as an illegal immigrant.

We will never know the full circumstances of such deaths, or the true extent of police culpability.

‘The biggest challenge facing the French anti-racist movement is the government itself. State racism is now a serious problem: 1994 saw new, harsh laws against immigrants and minorities over nationality and marital rights, increased deportations and new police powers. The Muslim community, in particular, faces harsh repression, as the row about wearing headscarves in schools looks set to continue.

Organised fascist activity continues, but the Front National is now less of a threat. However, naziskin groups are now more cohesive and vicious, some modelled on the US group The Order. Anti-racist and minority groups should remain vigilant.

Much will depend in the coming year on two things: the presidential election, and whether the Left can win it, which is unlikely; and the need for anti-racist and human rights organisations to unite and work with minorities. Only then will there be any chance of defeating repression and racism.’

REFLEXES, FRANCE

Fear of police brutality

Immigration policing is a closed book, without accountability or democratic safeguards. But we do know that police racism is becoming increasingly reckless and out of control. In September, the interior minister of Hamburg resigned in protest at police racism, claiming that he could no longer control a city force accused of regular violence against foreigners and involvement in a neo-nazi paramilitary group, which had developed a 'corps mentality'. Lack of democratic safeguards in French policing has long concerned Amnesty International, as has excessive use of force against foreigners and the abuse of firearms.

Fear of police methods and brutality played a large part in a further three deaths in this category. In the UK, Nigerian Joseph Nnalue tried to escape from an upper-storey window of his home when immigration police arrived. Perhaps he had heard of the killing in Germany of

fellow Nigerian Kolo Bankole, who died at Frankfurt airport after immigration police attempted to enforce his deportation by handcuffing him and injecting him with a large dose of sedatives. Following Bankole's death, the Nigerian embassy in Germany issued a press release stating that over the past three years 25 Nigerian asylum-seekers had died in police custody while awaiting deportation. 'Being an asylum-seeker should not be a licence for people to be hounded to death,' said a spokesperson for the embassy. 'In most of these 25 cases our citizens were being held in police custody and died of brain haemorrhages.'

In addition, in Britain, Nigerian Kwanele Siziba jumped to her death in panic believing that police at her door had come to deport her.

SUICIDES

In 1993, we documented seven suicides of asylum-seekers provoked by official racism. In 1994, the figure was, as far as we know, the same. But it is difficult to obtain reliable data on such deaths. There has also been a general increase in attempted suicides amongst refugees and asylum-seekers. In the year to July 1993, the Danish Red Cross documented almost 100 suicide attempts by refugees, two of which were successful. In Austria, campaigners claim that the official figure of 30 attempted suicides and 286 people on hunger strike for the year was an underestimate. For the first time, Norway and Switzerland enter CARF's catalogue of deaths. In Norway, a Syrian refugee committed suicide in the Frisian Britsum hospital after waiting for almost two years for a decision on his application. A Tamil asylum-seeker committed suicide in St

Gallen, Switzerland, when he was told he would be deported because he was one day late paying the 300F for his asylum appeal to be heard.

FAR RIGHT

There were 44 known or suspected murders by members of the far Right in 1993. In 1994, the figure dropped dramatically to 13, owing almost entirely to the fall in far-Right murders in Germany.

Nonetheless, 12 of the 13 far-Right murders we document here took place in Germany—more than the total number of deaths in the country which comes second in the racist league, France.

The mainstream Right parties in Germany are increasingly moving into the nationalistic and racist terrain previously occupied by the far Right. At the same time, the Christian Democrats, concerned at the growing inroads extreme-Right groups like the Republikaner were making into its vote, have sought to criminalise the far Right by outlawing neo-nazi groups and, on occasion, mounting police operations against them. Groups like the Republikaner, demoralised by their poor electoral showing, are increasingly divided, but the communities under threat from neo-nazis remain unprotected.

Police collusion

One of the most scandalous cases of 1994 involved police collusion in May with the neo-nazi riot in Magdeburg in the eastern German state of Saxony-Anhalt. The police had prior knowledge of the riot and did absolutely nothing to prevent it, preferring instead to send officers on holiday leave. They aided the skinheads by holding down

'In 1995 we will see measures put into practice to exclude migrants from the EU and to identify and deport so-called 'illegal' immigrants. And behind closed doors, officials will be finalising the Convention on the European Information System (EIS), which will introduce a computerised EU-wide database of those to be denied entry or expelled because their presence undermines public order or national security. The combination of secrecy, a quiescent media and complacent parliaments makes the work of monitoring and exposing these initiatives more urgent than ever.'

STATEWATCH

AUSTRIA

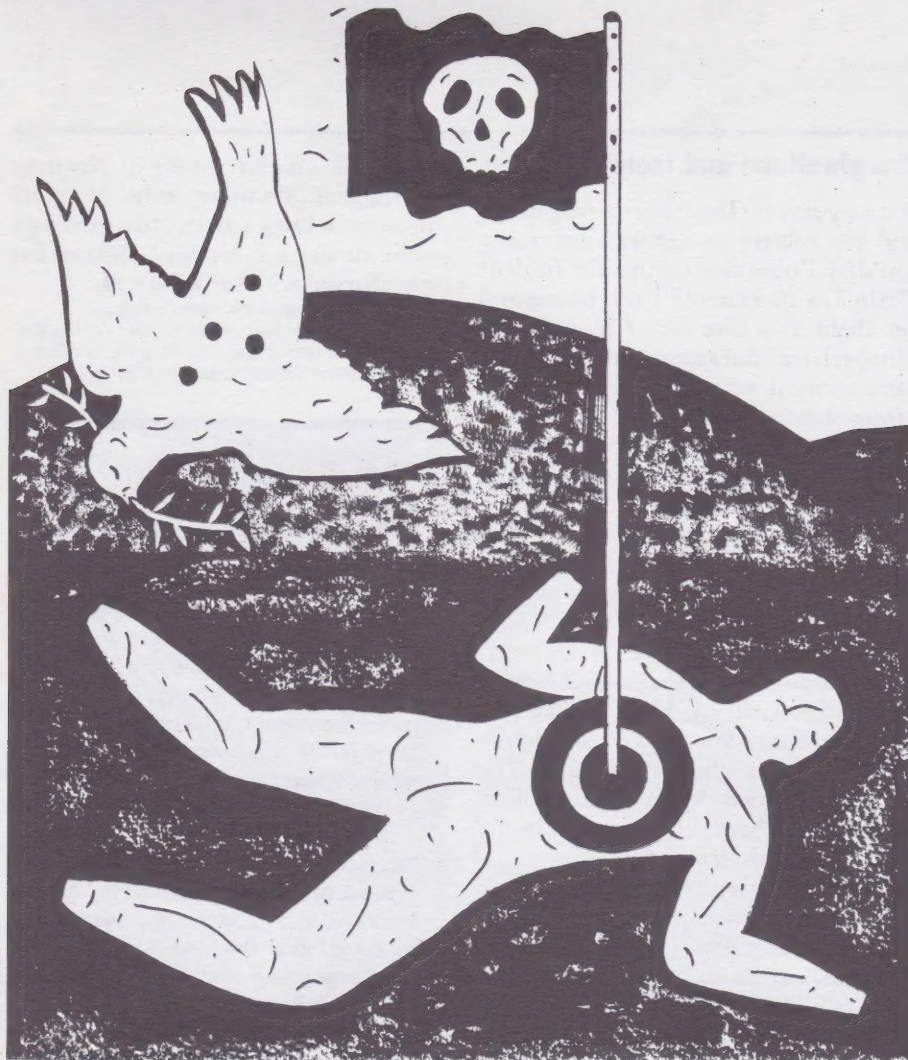
27 February ■ Homeless man beaten to death by neo-nazis in Innsbruck (FR)

FRANCE

January ■ Ibrahim Sy, of Senegalese descent, shot dead after police car chase (P) 5 February ■ Moroccan dustman killed by drunken gang in Corsica (R) 5 March ■ Mohamed Tajra, 27, shot dead on a housing estate in Avignon (R) April ■ Fauzi Benrais, 22, died after police chase in Toulon, Var (P) Two Antilleans, Joël Nebor, 25, and Frederick Adon, 24, shot dead by an off-duty policeman while trying to rob a coin machine (P) 19 April ■ Kalifa Amran, 20, north African, died after police chase in Vaulx-en-Velin (P) 7 May ■ Oussi Touré, 32-year-old Malian, died of a heart attack after interrogation at Paris police station following identity check (P) 13 July ■ A black man, approximately 25, died after being thrown into a canal in Paris by a gang of youths (R) August ■ Odeline, Haitian girl, 14, killed in Persan Beaumont in Val d'Oise by a man in a car who pulled up alongside her and fired shots (R) Abderaman Rabah, 26-year-old Harki, thrown over a cliff in Ault, Somme (R) 5 August ■ French Muslim, 26, killed at a disco after gang made racist remarks (R) September ■ Azzouz Read, Moroccan 24, shot dead by a retired soldier in Ousse-des-Bois, Pau, while attempting to break into a car (R) No date ■ Matfeh Belkham, 19, of Algerian origin, shot through the head at point blank range by a police officer in Firminy, near St Etienne, after being caught attempting to rob a shop (P)

GERMANY

27/28 January ■ Vietnamese asylum-seeker, 27, set himself on fire in Munich after asylum application rejected (S) February ■ Emmanuel Ehi, 26, due to be deported to Nigeria, committed suicide in a prison in Regensburg, Bavaria (S) 21 February ■ Mirjana Stanojevic, 22, Polish, set alight and killed by two German men in Berlin (R) 1 March ■ Refugee from Romania, 18, shot dead by police in Seelow, Brandenburg (P) 11 March ■ Polish man, 21, found dead in police station in Maintal, Hesse (P) 16 March ■ Seven people, including 2 children, killed in a fire on a housing block in Stuttgart (FR) 17 March ■ Refugee from Kosovo, 22, shot in the head by police following car chase in Halting, Bavaria (P) 18 April ■ Turkish man, 21, shot dead by police in Dietzenbach, near Frankfurt (P) 2 June ■ Chinese man, 43, hanged himself in prison in Volkstedt, near Magdeburg, after asylum application rejected (S) 18 June ■ Refugee from Romania shot in the head by police in Kyritz, Brandenburg, following car chase (P) 24 June ■ Turk shot dead by German neighbour for talking too loud in the street (R) 30 June ■ Halim Dener, 16-year-old Turkish Kurd, shot and killed by police in Hanover (P) 6 July ■ Ayhan Esser, 16, Turkish Kurd, shot dead by police in Hamburg (P) 26 July ■ Polish man, 45, drowned in Berlin after 8 Germans attacked him and another Polish man and pushed them into a lake (R) 1 August ■ Cetin T, Turk, 20, beaten and set alight at a lake near Cologne



foreigners while they were attacked, and arrested Turks who dared to fight back. It was not until December that the police released information on the death, on 27 September, of Algerian **Farid Boukhit**, who died from injuries sustained after being battered by neo-nazis armed with baseball bats.

Scapegoats

There is only one further death to note in the far-Right category. In Austria, where

Jörg Haider's far-Right Freedom Party won 23 per cent of the vote in October's general election, a homeless man was beaten to death in Innsbruck by neo-nazis armed with baseball bats.

As in most of Europe, the economic changes and the cost of constructing a single European market is being met by dismantling welfare provision, cuts in public spending, and programmes of privatisation. Social misery and dislocation are the inevitable results. But society is increasingly blaming the victims

and looking for scapegoats among the homeless, the mentally-ill and other socially deprived groups. Prior to the killing of the Austrian homeless man, an Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) MP argued that arrests and the workhouse would benefit the homeless. Then the ÖVP joined forces with the far Right to demand a law on vagrancy whereby the homeless could be punished for endangering the success and profitability of the tourist industry.

RACISM

France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and the UK have all experienced racist murders. And more people died as a result of deaths in this category than in attacks carried out by fascists. In many ways, these deaths are the most shocking. Far-Right murders, after all, reflect the racism on the extremes of society, but racist killings by the 'non-aligned' reveal the racist violence in mainstream culture.

In Germany, many Poles and Russians from the 'poor east' are being scapegoated in a similar way to the homeless in Austria and immigrants across Europe. According to the Anti-Racist Initiative, 'There has been a re-emergence of traditional anti-Polish feeling. Poles don't need visas, but can come into Germany on short-term contracts. They are seen as cheap labour and are blamed for bringing the wages down.'

Two 'poor Easterners' were killed in racist attacks. A 45-year-old Polish man was pushed into a lake after eight Germans attacked him in Berlin. Two Germans now await trial after setting fire to **Mirjana Stanojevic**, whom they had invited to a party. Poles, Romanians and refugees from the former Yugoslavia were also

(R) **4 August** ■ Vietnamese man, 33, stabbed to death in park in Leipzig, east Germany (R) **5 August** ■ Man from Yugoslavia, 32, shot and killed by police in Lüdenscheld (P) **31 August** ■ Nigerian asylum-seeker, Kola Bankole, 30, died after deportation attempt (P) **27 September** ■ Farid Boukhit, Algerian, 30, battered to death by neo-nazis in Magdeburg, Saxony-Anhalt (FR) **29 September** ■ Bukurige Haliti, 23, and her brother Navgim Haliti, 11, Roma from Albania, killed in a fire on a refugee hostel in Herford (FR) **14 October** ■ Greek woman, 62, killed in a fire on a housing block in Paderborn (R) **18 October** ■ Abdullah J, Moroccan refugee, 35, hanged himself in a prison cell in Ludwigsburg, near Stuttgart, after asylum application rejected (S) **6 November** ■ Piotr Kania, anti-fascist from Poland, 18, stabbed to death by a German soldier and nazi in Rotenburg, Bavaria (FR) **20 November** ■ Michael Gäbler, 18, stabbed to death by neo-nazis at disco in Zittau, east Germany (FR)

ITALY

February ■ Sinan Kouakou, agricultural labourer from the Ivory Coast, attacked and killed in orange groves of Calabria (R) **November** ■ Hachem Recragui, Moroccan immigrant, 21, allegedly jumped from sixth floor window of police station in Palermo (P/S)

NETHERLANDS

May ■ Turkish asylum-seeker, threatened with deportation, found hanged in Hengelo police station (S) **July** ■ Vietnamese refugee shot dead by the police in Purmerend (P)

NORWAY

January ■ Syrian refugee committed suicide in hospital after waiting two years for a decision on asylum (S)

PORTUGAL

June ■ Guinean worker shot dead by his employer (R)

SWITZERLAND

December ■ R. Jeyalkumar, Tamil asylum-seeker, committed suicide (S)

UK

6 April ■ Saied Ahmed, Somali refugee, 68, died after arson attack in Oxford (R) **17 July** ■ Donna O'Dwyer, African-Caribbean, 34, died after arson attack on her east London flat (R) **July** ■ Mark Harris, African-Caribbean, found hanging in Bristol police station (P/S) **29 September** ■ Norman Washington Manning, Afro-Caribbean, 26, killed by white prisoners in Long Lartin prison (R) **23 October** ■ Joseph Nnalue, 31, Nigerian, died after immigration police raid his home in Stockwell, south London (P) **6 December** ■ Mohan Singh Kullar, 60, Asian shopkeeper from Neath, south Wales, beaten to death with a brick (R) **16 December** ■ Oluwashiji Lapite, 34, Nigerian, dies in the custody of Stoke Newington police, north London (P)

among those who died in police custody.

African migrant labourers in southern European countries are similarly victimised, and treated as sub-human by employers and fellow-workers. In Portugal, a Guinean worker was shot dead by his employer. According to a colleague, the man had gone to the employer to ask for his salary, unpaid for three months.

Racist sadism

Last year, we argued that some cases revealed a neurotic hatred of immigrants and that racist attacks can emanate from a sort of collective hysteria. Mob attacks claimed the lives of a Moroccan dustman in Corsica and an agricultural worker from the Ivory Coast in Italy.

But there can also be an element of pre-meditated sadism in attacks. Why push a second-generation Harki off a cliff, watch a Polish migrant drown in a lake, or pull up in a car and gun down an innocent 14-year-old Haitian girl as she is walking home from a gospel concert, unless you are motivated by a combination of racism and sadism?

Marginalised and isolated

It is very easy for the police to marginalise and for society to ignore such racist murders. Police claimed that the death of **Cetin T**, a 20-year-old Turk, beaten and set alight at a lake near Cologne, was 'drug-related'. But a camper at the lakeside came forward, saying that he had heard a group of men shouting 'burn the Turks'. Few of France's seven such deaths would have come to light but for street protests on the estates where the victims lived.

After Germany and France, the UK has suffered the most deaths in this category. Two killings happened in areas not normally associated with racial violence, Oxford and Wales. A key problem for anti-racist campaigners is how to deal with attacks on black people and police indifference in parts of the country where black families are isolated. The families of **Saied Ahmed** and **Mohan Singh Kullar** had both previously borne sustained racial harassment.

Another key issue is the safety of black prisoners. A Home Office-commissioned study reveals growing racist attacks in

British prisons. The family of **Norman Washington Manning**, killed by white prisoners in Long Lartin, is demanding a public inquiry into his death. No one has been charged with his killing. ■

Written with the help of the Institute of Race Relations European Race Audit. Further information from *Migration Newssheet*. Thanks to the Anti-Racist Initiative in Berlin for information on Germany.

‘Racism and xenophobia are now central to the European parliament’s political agenda.

During the annual debate on racism, a Socialist Group motion – calling for a Race Relations Directive, for the inclusion of the fight against xenophobia and racism in a commissioner’s portfolio, and for racial incitement to be considered a criminal offence – was adopted overwhelmingly, with only six abstentions.

The Consultative Commission on Racism and Xenophobia, set up as a result of a Franco/German initiative launched in July, was supposedly a recognition at the highest level of the burgeoning problem of racism. But its limited terms of reference threaten to prevent the committee from recommending legal action at Community level. At Essen the European Council emphasised the importance of the Union-wide fight against racism and xenophobia. The question remains whether they will turn rhetoric into action in June 1995 in Cannes. ■

GLYN FORD MEP

‘We’ve got to keep on fighting on the same issues. Firstly, the defence of the civil rights of Roma in both eastern and western Europe, in particular to prevent the deportations of stateless Roma or displaced persons. Training Roma for community work and civil rights activities and encouraging the exchange of information on Romani issues is also essential. Above all, however, our top priority for 1995 is to continue efforts to coordinate the political work of Roma organisations operating on a European level. In June 1994, the Standing Conference for the Coordination and Cooperation of the Romani Associations in Europe was formed. Its attempts to establish an efficient Roma network throughout Europe have to be continued in 1995. ■

ROMA NATIONAL CONGRESS, GERMANY

Death in transit: the new boat people

In 1994, 29 people were reported drowned or missing in the seas and rivers of Europe, trying to get to western Europe. Of these, 14 were asylum-seekers, mostly Tamils, reported drowned in Germany trying to cross the rivers at the eastern border; four were Algerians reported drowned or missing in the river Seine, having jumped into the river to avoid arrest on their discovery as stowaways on board a ship; nine Albanians drowned and two were reported missing when boats capsized en route to Italy in September and October; and two north Africans were reported missing when another boat capsized off the Calabrian coast.

Also, the Spanish authorities estimate that about 1,000 people altogether have drowned during the trip in small leaky boats from north Africa to Spain (there are no separate figures for 1994).

The increasing death toll at sea and in rivers on borders is a direct result of western European governments’ clamp-down on legal entry by refugees, who have to resort to illegal and dangerous forms of travel.

Throughout 1994, hundreds of Tamils were picked up by the Danish and Swedish coastguard, adrift on rafts or in rubber dinghies without oars, in storm

conditions, suffering from hypothermia. The vast majority have been or will be returned to Sri Lanka, which is now considered to be ‘safe’.

Other asylum-seekers travel by container lorry. In February, 64 half-dead Iraqis, including women and children, were discovered in a sealed container in Sweden. The air temperature in the container was 70°C.

The response of European states to the extortion, suffering and death is not to repeal the laws that cause these forms of inhuman treatment but to militarise border controls. The eastern borders of Germany are now patrolled by a double line of border guards using dogs, patrol boats, helicopters, radar, heat detectors and night vision. Border police there have recently been given powers to search vehicles and buildings up to 30km inside the country.

In Greece, border police have opened fire without warning on Albanians trying to cross the southern border. Italian coastguards have intercepted over 2,000 people at sea in 1994, from Sri Lanka, China, Bangladesh, Albania and north Africa. Police in many countries, including Hungary and Britain, use sniffer dogs to detect humans in cargo on lorries. ■



CAMPAIGNS AND REPORTS

Racism behind locked doors

Racism and brutality by police and prison officers is on the increase – at least five black people died in 1994

Prison racism

Only when a black man dies in prison custody and an inquest is held do we catch a glimpse of the day-to-day brutality and racism of prison life. The closed nature of the institution and the fear of retribution that most prisoners live with ensures that prison racism remains hidden. But a study from Oxford University based on questionnaires to inmates and officers has spelt out for the first time the extent of the problem.

In a three-month period, half of all black prisoners and one-third of all Asian prisoners had been racially victimised by staff. Of black inmates, 64 per cent said they had witnessed an average of eight incidents.

The problem is not just one of prison officers but of racist inmates too. The death of Rastafarian Norman Washington Manning (Bunson) in Long Lartin prison last year has led former inmates to speak out, claiming that a 'white zone' existed in the prison. Bunson's murder came the day after a black study group had been disrupted by white prisoners. Bunson had spoken of his fear of being attacked and his family and friends strongly believe that he was the victim of a racist attack by inmates.

Deaths and the police

Before Christmas two hundred people demonstrated outside the notoriously racist and corrupt Stoke Newington police station demanding an independent inquiry into the death of 34-year-old father of two Oluwashiji (Shiji) Lapite. Shiji was stopped on 16 December for 'acting suspiciously' and taken in a van to the police station; 20 minutes later he was dead. According to members of his family his face was covered in bruises, his mouth split wide open and his skull was beaten to a pulp. His family claim that he was beaten to death.

The inquest in November 1994 into the death of Mark Harris, who died in a Bristol police station last July, resulted in a legal victory for the Mark Harris Truth and Justice Campaign when the jury took just five minutes to reject the idea that Mark had committed suicide and recorded an open verdict. His family now plan to prosecute the police.

Fear of immigration police

The death of Joy Gardner heightened the fear many people have for immigration officers. After an inquest verdict of misadventure, the Campaign Against Immigration Act Detentions is planning a People's Tribunal into the death of Kwanele Siziba, who fell 150 feet to her death while attempting to escape from bailiffs who she thought were immigration officers (see *CARF* 21). And campaigners in south London have been speaking out about the death of Joseph Nnalue, who died after a fall from his second floor Stockwell flat when two police officers and an immigration officer called to question him.



No one has yet been charged with the murder of Norman Manning (Bunson) *Picture: Mark Salmon*

Harassment of campaigners

Campaigners claim that police have responded to demands for justice by harassment and intimidation. In Cardiff members of Mark Harris's family claim they and their solicitor have had their phones tapped. On the eve of the inquest Mark's brother Paul was followed to his mother's house, and 15 riot police stormed into the house and handcuffed members of the



Two police officers have been suspended after the death of Shiji Lapite. Campaigners are demanding an independent inquiry

family. A graze one of the officers sustained while breaking down the door led to Paul's arrest for assault (the charge was later dropped). Former Lambeth councillor Yomi Buraimoh-Igbo believes he is being targeted for speaking out about the death of Nnalue. He was confronted by police and six immigration officers at his home and handcuffed in front of his children.

The day before the picket of Stoke Newington police station, the Colin Roach Centre, which houses Hackney Community Defence Association, the Trade Union Support Unit and lesbian and gay groups, was broken into. Equipment was smashed and homophobic graffiti was sprayed on the walls signed by the 'BDP Posse'. The centre was due to act as a base for campaigners for Shiji Lapite and has long been a thorn in the side of local police because of its work in exposing corruption and racism at Stoke Newington police station. Members of the centre suspect Special Branch involvement and are convinced that it was a deliberate attempt to create hostility between black and lesbian and gay users of the centre. ■

This article was prepared with the help of **INQUEST**, 330 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Contact Bunson Memorial Campaign (0585) 158207; Shiji Lapite Memorial Committee (081) 555 8151; Truth and Justice for Mark Harris Campaign (0222) 811178; Amnesty Campaign for Refugees and Unregistered Migrants (071) 924 9033; CAIAD (071) 254 9701.

INQUEST calls for:

- An end to all immigration detention
- Independent public inquiries into cases which raise wider issues than an inquest can properly deal with
- The right of coroners and juries to refer cases to such inquiries
- More rights for family members at inquests, including legal aid, the right to advance disclosure of witness statements, the right to call their own witnesses, the right to argue a case as well as ask questions
- The restoration of the right of juries to make recommendations designed to avert future deaths
- A fully independent investigation into all custodial deaths and complaints against the police. 7

CPS: urgent action needed

'Stunned but hardly surprised' was the reaction of Tower Hamlets' Bengali community following the acquittal of former caretaker John Rutter of the brutal attack on 18-year-old Quddus Ali last September that left him severely disabled. The CPS's botched prosecution came two months after prospective police officer Nicky Fuller walked free from court after being found guilty of the attack on Muktha Ahmed which left him scarred for life.



Muktha Ahmed

Quddus Ali

Fuller was convicted of violent disorder. But the absurdly short sentence of 11 months in a young offenders institution, which he had already served on remand, meant that Fuller walked free from court. The outcome is not only an insult to Muktha Ahmed, who had his scalp detached from his skull in the attack, but a slap in the face

for Fuller's former girlfriend, Kelly Turner who bravely testified against him.

Fuller was only one of a 20-strong gang who attacked Muktha Ahmed. Likewise, only one man stood trial for the gang attack on Quddus Ali. A half-hearted prosecution and weak identification evidence, meant that it took the jury just 45 minutes to free Rutter.

After the verdict Quddus Ali's mother said: 'Those who almost killed him will feel even more confident now. What am I supposed to say that can even begin to get anywhere near the truth of my feeling? Why is it a crime in Britain to be Asian, African? Who governs this country?'

Pickets of the CPS are planned.

Tower Hamlets Anti-Racist Committee,
c/o CAG, 22 Hanbury Street, London E1

Racist murderer jailed

Racist Ian Learney has been jailed for life with a recommendation that he serve at least 20 years. Learney stabbed Sudanese student Ali Ibrahim to death in Brighton in 1993 because he bumped into him on a pavement,

spilling his can of lager. His friend, Stephen MacKrill, was acquitted after the jury failed to reach a verdict.

In Birmingham, Jason Cranley and Paul Corbett were jailed for 13 years for GBH after chasing Clive Forbes, who broke his leg trying to escape, and then attacking him with an iron bar. ■

'Those of us who thought back in the seventies that we had buried scientific racism clearly failed to put a stake through its heart, because it has risen from the grave again. The publication of *The Bell Curve* in the US and its reception in Britain, notably from some right-wing think tanks, is an indication that we must revive the campaigns we fought then, in the press and on university campuses, to explain why its arguments are not merely racist but are also scientifically fallacious. The US Justice Department is spending some \$400 million to try to 'prove' that inner city violence is mainly the fault of genetic deficiencies in those who live in the ghettos, specifically blacks - and that was before the recent mid-term elections. Will these genetic arguments find their way here too? Not so crudely, perhaps, but we need to be on our guard.'

PROFESSOR STEVEN ROSE, SCIENTIST

'AFA will still operate a policy of both physical and ideological opposition, building on its successes of the past year. AFA directs its resources at fighting fascists and not courting publicity over every fascist act - often meaning we are victims of our own success. In 1995 we will be concentrating on cutting off the potential BNP recruits. This is already being done through football and music. An independent, effective and permanent opposition is what AFA is and will continue to be. We have always placed ourselves in the front line and that will not change. Watch this space.'

ANTI-FASCIST ACTION, NORTHERN NETWORK

• FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP • FASCIST ROUND-UP •

BNP targets Docklands

Two important by-elections for the BNP take place at the beginning of 1995. Following Derek Beackon's failed attempt to capture the Lansbury ward in December, east London BNP organiser Dave King stands in the Weavers Field by-election in Tower Hamlets on 23 February. In Newham South, Peter Hart stood for the BNP on 26 January in a by election covering the crucial areas of Beckton and Silvertown, where racial violence is rife.

In the May 1994 local elections, the BNP gained 17 per cent of the vote in Beckton. In the run-up to the Newham South by-election, BNP members were out regularly leafleting the 'Newham South Patriot'. But, thankfully, there is local opposition. The Beckton Community Association was formed in October to fight for more resources for local people, both black and white. And the first issue of *Docklands Voice* newsletter contained a statement of community groups, trade unionists

like the AEEU Tate & Lyle branch, and well-known personalities Benjamin Zephaniah and Deepak Verma, Sanjay from *EastEnders*.

Beckton Community Association, PO Box 273, Forest Gate London E7.

Combat 18 combated

While much press attention has focussed on violent Combat 18 activities in Yorkshire, regional opposition to the fascists has been solidifying. 5,000 people attended the broad-based Leeds demonstration on 26 November. Fascist threats to attack 30 targets in retaliation for the march never materialised. Unfortunately, though, several arrests were made after police snatch squads went into the crowd. West Yorkshire CID also succeeded in pressuring Channel Four to blank out the faces of C18 activists Appleyard, Watmough and Franks on *Dispatches* (26 October) since they faced charges. In the event, the charges against the three were dropped.

Anti-fascists prioritise workplace

Workers at Greenwich housing department have threatened to walk out if caretaker and leading BNP member Ian Dell is reinstated. Dell won his unfair dismissal claim against Greenwich council, who sacked him for his BNP membership. BNP member John Brand was sacked as careers advisor at Glasgow's Caledonian University after students petitioned and threatened an occupation. Also in Glasgow, campaigns have begun against BNP member Gus McLeod, a council gallery attendant, and Gavin Robertson, a Scottish office employee convicted of possessing material likely to incite racial hatred. In court Robertson admitted BNP membership, but said that he only passed the stickers on to friends with the same political views, as 'collectors items'. He is right - they are becoming rarer by the minute due to the good work of anti-fascists. ■

Colly Wilson freed on appeal

After spending more than two years in prison for a robbery he did not commit, Colly Wilson was cleared of charges against him and freed before Christmas. He was framed for a crime in which the victim described the attackers as tall white men in their twenties. Colly is black, short and in his late thirties.

Colly, who suffers from a personality disorder and was vulnerable under questioning, had been kept in police custody for more than 45 hours with only six hours sleep before making a 'confession'. Quashing his conviction, the Appeal Court ruled that the police had contravened PACE regulations on questioning.

But Colly has lost two years of his life and his case would not have received any publicity without the prisoners' support group *Conviction*, and the Nottinghamshire Anti-Fascist Alliance. ■



Darren Jakobsen

Ronald Thomas campaign

The good news

CARF is pleased to report that after a successful campaign involving Nottinghamshire Anti-Fascist Alliance and many other local groups and individuals, Ronald Thomas has been acquitted of all charges against him after he was attacked and racially abused in a Nottingham cinema.



The bad news

On hearing the jury deliver its verdict, presiding judge Benson launched into a diatribe against the Justice for Ronald Thomas Campaign, accused Ronald of contempt of court, and asked police to launch an investigation into all those involved with the campaign. Ross Bradshaw of NAFA was arrested and hauled before the judge on 18 January; he was bailed to get legal representation and returns to court on 3 February.

Support for the campaign has come from local MP Alan Simpson, who has complained to the Lord Chancellor and has written to the judge telling him that, as a committed member of the campaign, he is available for arrest. Regional Unison and the city council's Labour group are also pledged to support the campaigners, who are determined to fight this criminalisation which could threaten any pre-trial campaigning. ■

Darnall victory

As the criminal cases against the Darnall defendants (see CARF no 21) come to an end, campaigners can congratulate themselves for their good work. Of the eight charges remaining against the youths, two public order charges were dropped while magistrates found four defendants not guilty of criminal damage, disorderly conduct and threatening behaviour charges. Only one person, charged under the Town Police Clauses Act with abusive language for a one finger gesture, was found guilty, and one was bound over for an alleged breach of the peace. He is appealing the bind-over to the Crown court.

The victory against such police victimisation of a whole community of young people has given the youth a major boost.

They have now opened their own community centre, the Darnall Unity Centre, as a resource centre for young people and to provide recreational and training facilities. As yet no help has been forthcoming from any funding organisations and the youth are relying on voluntary contributions from local businesses and individuals. Nissar Jaffar, chair of the defence campaign, says, 'After our victory in court, we've shown people that we are not petty criminals that can be pushed around from pillar to post. We are an integral part of the community and we will fight any attempt by the police or any other institution to criminalise, divide or marginalise us.' ■

'The police should treat everyone with respect, regardless of age, colour, or where they live. They should get rid of the thugs in uniform before they sort out the thugs on the streets.'

SHARON DRAY, SOUTH NEWHAM ACTION ON POLICING



'We need to break out of the timewarp which envelops the race debate in Scotland, stop the pointless discussions over definitions and start to build a strong coherent anti-racist movement which recognises the impact of class and gender. 1995 will be a year of upheaval in Scotland with the Criminal Justice Bill (Scotland) making its way through Parliament and the reorganisation of local government and education needing to be complete by April 1996. We need to be ready to face these new challenges so that hard fought for changes are not lost.'

SATWAT REHMAN, SCOTTISH ACTION AGAINST RACISM AND FASCISM IN EUROPE

'It is commonly perceived in Britain that the Irish were responsible for the war in the North of Ireland, with Britain's role being that of a 'peace-keeper'. This attitude was encouraged and perpetuated by the political establishment and media reporting of the war.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act, which has been used since 1974 to harass and intimidate the Irish community, is to be renewed in March 1995. We must campaign for an end to all emergency legislation and continue to pressurise the British government to move the peace process forward.'

TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

Kurds under threat

In the UK, a broad-based campaign, uniting Kurdish and civil liberties groups, has been set up to fight the deportation of Kani Yilmaz, European representative of the PKK, and to defend the democratic rights of Kurds in Europe.

Yilmaz, who has lived in Germany for ten years and has refugee status, was invited to address a meeting at the Houses of Parliament by Labour MP John Austin-Walker. He was arrested on the way to the meeting on 26 October, even though he had been in the country for three days with the full knowledge of the Home Office, and had visited the UK on several previous occasions with no difficulties. The Home secretary, embarrassed by the 'erroneous' decision to allow Yilmaz to enter Britain, claims he is a threat to national security.

Germany's lead

Since its ban on the PKK and 35 other Kurdish organisations in November 1993, Germany, which has delivered £400m-worth of weapons to the Turkish government in three years, has entered into negotiations with Turkey for the repatriation of Kurdish asylum-seekers. In April 1994, the German government announced that any Kurd arrested on a demonstration would be deported. A public outcry followed the arrest and torture of a Kurd after his deportation from Sachsen. Following complaints from Amnesty International, Germany said it would seek assurances from the Turkish government that no deportee would be



Kurdish women protested outside Paddington Green police station where Kani Yilmaz was held. Picture: Richard Wayman

tortured. At least 400 Kurds, accused of membership of the PKK, are in German prisons awaiting deportation.

Germany's lead is being followed by other European countries, such as France, Belgium, the Netherlands and now the UK. When Yilmaz's deportation hearing takes place in February, his lawyers will need to argue that it is unsafe to deport him to Germany, which will send him back to Turkey. According to Yilmaz, who has been held in Belmarsh top security prison since his arrest: 'The British government is denying my right to challenge the case against me. Perhaps this is because everything in Turkey is being privatised and put up for sale and the British authorities want their share of the privatisation through some private agreement.' ■

Kurdistan Solidarity Committee, 44 Ainger Road, London NW3 3AT.

Bayo Omoyiola must stay

Bayo Omoyiola has been campaigning, with Unison's support, since July 1993 against his threatened deportation to Nigeria. Bayo has lived in Britain for over four years and works for the city council in Liverpool, where he lives with his son.

Bayo told CARF: 'All I want is to be reunited with my family here. My son and I live here, and my wife and daughter are in Nigeria. On 16 November 1994 I received the Home Office decision to deport me. I am appealing against it. The Home Office has ignored the information I sent them, though I kept them informed. With all the support that I have received in the city, my solicitor is hopeful of my success. Regrettably, with the political situation in Nigeria as it is I wouldn't like to walk into it.'

Liverpool city council, local, regional and national Unison and Bob Parry MP have all supported Bayo's campaign. Now there is a need for a flood of letters to the Home Office. ■

Please help Bayo Omoyiola by writing a letter of support to the Home Office, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1H 9AT (quoting reference 0138995). For further details contact Unison, 4th Floor, Produce Exchange, 8 Victoria Street, Liverpool, L2 6OJ. Tel (051) 236 1944.



Mark Salmon

When Hemlata Patel's appeal against deportation was heard on 6 December, she was supported by a mass picket outside the Birmingham immigration appeals office. Hemlata came to Britain in 1986 to marry her husband, whom she met in India, but shortly after her marriage he became violent and on the advice of the police Hemlata left him. She is now threatened with deportation because of the racist thinking of the Home Office which imposes a one-year 'probationary' period on the marriages of black people. The judgment in her case is still to be given.

Prakash Chavrimootoo and her 11-year old son Prem also face deportation under the one-year rule. They suffered a setback in their fight to stay in Britain after their application for a judicial review was turned down by the High Court in December. The West Midlands anti-deportation campaign has vowed to carry on campaigning. For more details ring (021) 551 4518. ■

Basso Tribunal

Western European governments have betrayed asylum-seekers, concluded the Basso Tribunal at the end of its session on asylum rights in Europe, held in Berlin from 8-12 December 1994. The Permanent People's Tribunal found western European states guilty of 'systematic and repeated violations' of the human rights of asylum-seekers and refugees by their asylum policies and practices. It also demanded compensation for asylum-seekers whose rights had been abused. The Tribunal found that the so-called harmonisation of European practice had led to a 'lowest common denominator' approach in which the worst laws and practices become the model for all countries, and that 'refugee protection' had turned into 'protection against refugees'. In the process, states exposed asylum-seekers to illegal expulsions, to detention and inhuman

treatment, to unfair procedures, to poverty and degradation and to racist attacks.

The Basso Tribunal, or the Permanent People's Tribunal, was set up in the 1970s as a successor to the Russell War Crimes Tribunal and regularly puts governments in the dock over human rights violations. It heard oral and written testimony from refugees and from groups involved in refugee support and anti-racist work in four European countries: Germany, France, Switzerland and Spain, as samples of western European practice, and ten jurors, including German investigative journalist Gunter Walraff, delivered their detailed judgment, which was then forwarded to the European Parliament for debate. ■

For more information or copies of the judgment, contact the Basso Tribunal, c/o ASTA TU Berlin, Marchstr. 6, 19587 Berlin

Trade unions challenged

Workers' control not immigration controls: why trade unionists should oppose immigration restrictions

Steve Cohen, Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit, 36pp, £2.50

This pamphlet, the latest in the excellent occasional series on the law and politics of immigration control, throws down a challenge to the trade union movement. It demonstrates, with the backing of much historical research, that the attitude of trade unionists to immigration has very often been racist. It also serves as a

reminder that since the 1890s, when Jewish immigration provoked the first demands for immigration control from reactionary workers' leaders, it was the immigrant workers themselves who forced a more progressive stance, calling for a universal compulsory eight-hour day and a minimum wage to protect all workers, instead of immigration controls to protect only British workers.

Most importantly, the pamphlet uses this historical background to demonstrate the shallow and questionable nature of the TUC and the Labour party's current stance, which embraces the idea of employer sanctions (ie, penalising employers who



'1994 was a good year for anti-racism in football: thanks to the national campaign initiated by the CRE, the Professional Footballers Association and the Football Supporters Association, plus ongoing local fans' campaigns, real progress is being made in tackling racist behaviour by fans. The pressure needs to be kept up, but it's now time to tackle a connected issue – the continued absence of black fans at league matches. The cost of tickets is part of the answer, but the number of black fans won't increase unless the football authorities, individual clubs, fans, and the CRE come together to launch a high profile campaign aimed specifically at encouraging black fans to attend games. That might be controversial, but we feel that is what's needed.'

LEEDS FANS UNITED AGAINST RACISM

hire undocumented immigrant workers). The pamphlet demolishes the two most used justifications for employer sanctions. The argument that employer sanctions protect the legal workforce from the lowering of wages through illegal competition, is a straight continuation of the old 'protectionist' argument demolished a century ago. The other argument, that sanctions are needed to protect the undocumented workers themselves, is ridiculed as 'a strange kind of protection, to make the bosses the stool pigeons of the Immigration Service'.

Essential reading for trade unionists. ■

Babylon's banning

Hot on the heels of the banning of Fun-da-mental's Dogtribe video, the music industry has once again shown itself incapable of dealing with the militancy of young black rap bands. HMV, Our Price and Virgin recently refused to stock Det-ri-mental's 'Babylon' single, claiming that the cover was offensive. It depicted a black man seen through a shooting range target sight and the words *Kill all niggers, Pakis, gays, Jews, dole dossers, wops, communists, hippies, Irish, religious freaks*. Det-ri-mental claimed they were missing the point of the cover as an anti-racist statement and commented, 'We are that image, the person on the shooting range. Until you've been chased, shot at, punched in the face or beaten up by the BNP, you can't imagine the fear. With this cover we were trying to get that message across, show people what it's like.' The single is now being reissued in a brown paper bag.



Anti-racist rappers the Kaliphz have also been the subject of controversy with the release of a storming new single called 'Hang 'em high' which describes their preferred method of dealing with nazis. The line *I'm no pacifist, I'm a pistol-packing paki-fist* is surely a contender for anti-racist song lyric of the year.

Sounds of the townships reached Britain in December when South Africa's premier hip-hop crew Prophets of Da City visited Britain to tour with Fun-da-mental. The Prophets have been active in fighting apartheid as a band for over 11 years through their uncompromising lyrics and videos, all of which were subject to censorship under the apartheid regime. Their first British release 'Never Again' opens with a sample from Nelson Mandela's inauguration speech and goes on to chart the history of the South African liberation struggle. An album is planned for later in the year. ■

'Sweatshop'

The Banner Theatre's latest production, 'Sweatshop' is a stunning evening's agitprop entertainment. The first half of the show is a wry look at the demise of the British Empire. It follows the escapades of John Pound Sterling as he develops from buccaneer to director of a global corporation, and charts the growing resistance to his activities both here and in the 'colonies'. The second half charts the increasing use of sweatshops by international manufacturers now and focuses on the struggles of workers for just pay and conditions across the globe.



Alan Sprung

Based on over 80 interviews and extensive historical research, 'Sweatshop' reveals the lives of those who worked to 'turn their pain into movements', ranging from Miah Moshin, who led resistance to the British in Bengal, and Betty Cunliffe, the Luddite, to the 'shit workers of the silicon age' in Indonesia, Birmingham, Glasgow and San Antonio. ■

'Sweatshop' is touring during February and March. Ring (0121) 440 0460 for details or if you would like to book 'Sweatshop' at your college or community centre.

'The lessons learnt from the protests and hunger strikes by Immigration Act prisoners last year have strengthened the resolve of Immigration Act detainees to expose their mistreatment, and activists outside the prisons are ready to take up their demands and bring out their message to the masses of the British people. Numerous organisations point to the fact that thousands of people are being detained, and that this number is growing as the state attempts to deter those who come to Europe to seek asylum. But this strategy is already backfiring as the increase in the number of people in prisons and detention centres serves only to strengthen the resolve of a highly politicised group of people to expose the injustices.'

CAMPAIGN AGAINST IMMIGRATION ACT DETENTIONS

OCT 18 24-year-old man is attacked in Croydon by four white men who spray CS gas in his face and shout racist abuse in Croydon... Southwark council agrees to rehouse families suffering racial harassment after High Court grants victims a judicial review **OCT 19** Scottish Homes launches project for ethnic minority housing as a result of serious racist harassment of black families on Dundee housing estates **OCT 20** Smell of petrol fumes awakens young family, saving them from an arson attack on their home in Mitcham, Surrey **OCT 21** Wrexham woman, harassed at work during the Gulf war because she had an Iraqi husband, wins £12,500 settlement **OCT 22** Black family in Reading say that they live in constant fear of police after lodging several complaints with the PCA over their treatment **OCT 23** Nigerian Joseph Nnalue dies after falling from a block of flats in south London while escaping from police and immigration officials **OCT 24** Swansea police say that attacks on both an Indian and a Chinese restaurant may have been connected with the National Front **OCT 28** Ipswich striker Chris Kiwomya is questioned by police after allegedly punching a fan who called him a 'useless black bastard' **OCT 29** Research published by the British Medical Journal suggests that African-Caribbeans are no more prone to schizophrenia than other groups, although they are diagnosed as schizophrenic twice as often as whites **OCT 30** Pakistani immigration detainee with serious injuries and dressed only in pyjamas and a blanket is not allowed on plane by pilot until he receives medical treatment **NOV 2** Ian Dell wins claim against Greenwich council when industrial tribunal rules that BNP membership is not valid grounds for dismissal **NOV 6** Home Office study says that levels of racial violence and abuse in prisons are far higher than the number of incidents recorded **NOV 7** Metropolitan police pay out £70,000 damages to Anson King, a mini-cab driver, after Stoke Newington police arrested and strip-searched him and fabricated evidence to charge him with possession of crack cocaine **NOV 14** Home Office is accused of shameful laxity in its policy towards asylum-seekers after the disclosure that more than 80 people applying for refuge in Britain have been kept waiting for more than five years **NOV 15** Nicky Fuller is found guilty of vicious attack on Bengali Mukhta Ahmed but set free after spending 11 months on remand **NOV 16** Court awards £1,000 damages for unlawful imprisonment to 3-year-old boy after hearing that he developed a phobia against police after being falsely detained with his father who was arrested for smoking on a train **NOV 21** Nigerian Christine Ogunjinmi is granted last-minute reprieve against her deportation after hundreds of East-enders sign petitions and letters in her support **NOV 25** Home Office denies claims that asthma sufferer Valerie Senoo was bound and gagged while being deported from Campsfield detention centre to Ghana **NOV 27** Home Office figures show that black people are four times more likely to make complaints about police behaviour - but less likely than whites to have them upheld... Home Office is accused of gross infringement of civil liberties after refusing Gambian security guard permission to take a prearranged holiday in Britain **NOV 28** BNP appeals to environment secretary after Bexley council imposes order prohib-

1994/5

CALENDAR OF RACE AND RESISTANCE

iting use of 'bookshop' as headquarters and mail order base... Police raid on Lloyds of London arrests more than half of their office cleaners for immigration offences... Mansfield Town manager Andy King is reported to Football League for making allegedly racist remarks to Scarborough player **NOV 29** New prison places and extra resources for the immigration service are announced in Budget **NOV 30** Rate at which asylum seekers are being refused entry to Britain has leapt from 16 per cent to 75 per cent in the last 15 months, says Refugee Council **DEC 5** Man is stabbed in Kennington, south London after telling off youths who were racially abusing an Asian shopkeeper **DEC 6** 60-year-old Asian shopkeeper Mohan Singh Kullar dies in hospital after being violently attacked by white youths nine days earlier... Home secretary loses

test case when High Court rules that child protection legislation takes precedence over immigration law, preventing deportation of 11-year-old boy who had suffered abuse from his parents in Bangladesh **DEC 8** Warwick University research reveals that Asians are twice as likely to be unemployed as their white contemporaries, despite being better educated **DEC 9** Driver David Hamilton is awarded £5,500 compensation after his application for a permanent position with north London firm was ignored because he was black... Cardiff man is fined £400 for making racist threats to Bangladeshi family moving in next door to him **DEC 10** Homeless charity Centrepont says half of the young people sleeping on the street at Christmas will be black **DEC 11** Joint report from Commission for Racial Equality and Equal Opportunities Commission calls for urgent action to combat discrimination against black people who are suffering above average levels of unemployment **DEC 13** National Union of Students opens hotline in attempt to combat growing racist activity on college campuses **DEC 16** BNP's Derek Beackon comes poor third in Lansbury ward by-election in Tower Hamlets **DEC 17** Mixed race couple are attacked by gang of three girls armed with a metal bar in Rotherhithe, south London **DEC 19** 100 people protest outside Nottingham firm Northern Foods claiming that it racially harassed and unfairly dismissed computer analyst Clive Foster **DEC 20** England footballer Stuart Pearce is ordered to apologise to colleague Paul Ince for racist abuse against him **DEC 22** Three Leeds nazis are jailed for two years for separate attacks on local Labour party chair and mixed race teenager **DEC 23** 200 people demonstrate outside Stoke

Newington police station to demand an inquiry after 34-year-old Shiji Lapite dies in police van... Man has 40 stitches after being repeatedly jabbed in face with broken bottle by two white men in Southall, west London **JAN 2** Police begin investigation after applicants for jobs at Nottingham city council receive forged letters telling them that only black applicants would be considered **JAN 4** Deportation of two Zairean children, who saw their father tortured and murdered in front of them, is halted after representations from locals in north London **JAN 5** Six-year study of racial violence in Keighley, west Yorkshire, says the centre of the town is a no-go area for Asian youths... Leeds city council says it will use private detectives to carry out undercover surveillance of tenants suspected of racial harassment.

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